



Quarterly Report
INDONESIA: SUPPORTING PARTIES, CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS AND
THE DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION PROCESS
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I. SUMMARY

In the fall of 2000, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) reassessed its programs to fit the needs of a post-election Indonesia. While NDI is still working with political parties, parties in the legislature and civil society organizations, NDI has refined its objectives and expanded political party and civil society programs to include seminars, consultations, and workshops at the provincial and district levels.

From November 1 to December 31, NDI conducted a series of programs for political parties and the legislature at both the national and provincial government level. This marks a diversion from NDI's previous strategy of focusing solely on the national government. The programs worked to (a) strengthen the ability of political parties to participate in a democratic, multiparty political environment; and (b) increase the ability of the People's Representative Assembly (DPR) members to play a meaningful role in policy development, allocation of public resources and government oversight, and to conduct legislative affairs in an ethical and transparent manner.

In November, NDI conducted a political leadership academy for young political party leaders. NDI also hosted a delegation from the Namibian upper legislative house. In addition, NDI established a strong relationship with the Women's Political Caucus, aiding the Women's Caucus with the development of an agenda for its project launching, scheduled for the end of January. In addition, NDI conducted a workshop on improving constituency relations. NDI's approach in combining practical tools with discussions led participants to recognize the necessity of understanding their constituent's needs in order to be effective representatives.

In December, NDI reviewed the draft Code of Ethics and the proposed revisions to the legislature's Rules of Procedure, at the request of the DPR Legislation Council, allowing NDI to gauge the extent to which its previous comments on the Code of Ethics and Rules of Procedure had been incorporated into the documents. Throughout the reporting period, NDI participated

and conducted a series of workshops and meetings to further its mission of strengthening the ability of civil society groups to compete in the new democratic environment at both the national and provincial government levels. NDI also focused on the necessity of education and management training for NGO leaders through meetings with the International Relations Student Association at the University of Indonesia to gauge their interest in hosting a certificate program in NGO management. Finally, NDI assisted with planning activities centered on Human Rights Day. To encourage solidarity within the Indonesian human rights community, NDI joined with several Indonesian civil society organizations to initiate a gathering commemorating Human Rights Day. As a result of this undertaking, NDI and several of its partner organizations are now planning an advocacy training program for human rights organizations.

II. BACKGROUND

Current Indonesian efforts to create a new democratic system present an historic opportunity for meaningful political reform. Following the resignation of former President Soeharto in May 1998, there was broad agreement that a more democratic political system would have to be established and a government with popular legitimacy formed to address the country's grave social and economic difficulties. Virtually overnight, discussion about democracy and reform moved to the center stage.

On June 7, 1999, Indonesia conducted its first open, competitive elections in 44 years, marking another step away from its recent autocratic past and toward a new era of democratic transformation. In polling stations spread across thousands of islands, more than 85 percent of the archipelago's 116 million registered voters defied predictions of election-day unrest to cast their ballots for the national and provincial legislatures, and district assemblies.

In October 1999, the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) elected a new president and vice president, Abdurrahman Wahid and Megawati Sukarnoputri, in the most democratic and peaceful transfer of executive power in Indonesia's history. The establishment of a legitimate government through these elections and the formation of a new cabinet at the end of the month heralded a new era of democratic consolidation in the country. Now there is broad agreement that efforts toward a more democratic political system must continue in order to address the country's social and economic problems.

Yet democratization in Indonesia continues to face many challenges. During the more than three decades of President Soeharto's leadership, Indonesian society was systematically de-politicized. Political organizing of any kind was restricted to that associated with the three officially recognized political parties, whose leadership was approved by the government, and political intimidation and media censorship were the norm. Most Indonesians, therefore, have limited experience in political participation, political negotiation, compromise and democratic law-making, all of which may take years to develop. In addition, while Indonesia has undergone a dramatic change in leadership and while the majority of Indonesians supported last year's election process and the broad call for political reforms, the extent to which certain sectors of the New Order, power-holding elite – including perhaps significant portions of the bureaucracy, the

military and Golkar – have actually accepted the concept of democratic governance and all of its implications remains unclear.

Previous NDI Programs in Indonesia

NDI's current work builds directly on previous program activities and relationships in Indonesia. The objectives of NDI's presence in Indonesia are:

- To assist political and civil society leaders to encourage informed public debate and advocacy on issues critical to the success of the democratic transition.
- To support the constructive involvement of civil society in the ongoing transition process and strengthen the ability of civil society groups to work effectively within the new political environment.
- To strengthen the ability of political parties to actively and effectively participate in a democratic, multiparty political environment.
- To increase the ability of political parties and individual DPR members to play a meaningful role in public debate, policy development, allocation of public resources and government oversight and to conduct legislative affairs in an ethical, responsive and transparent manner.

III. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

A. POLITICAL PARTIES

1. Political Leadership Academy

From November 13 to 23, NDI conducted the inaugural session of its Indonesian Political Leadership Academy, a two-week training course on political leadership and party organizing for young party activists. Bringing together 24 participants from West Java, East Kalimantan, North Sulawesi and Jakarta, this two-week program included discussion workshops and hands-on training in numerous areas, including: strategic planning; message development; constituency relations; and communication via electronic media and conflict resolution. Twenty-four young party members received intensive hands-on training in strategic planning, message development, constituency relations, communication via electronic media and conflict resolution. This program enabled the young leaders to analyze Indonesia's problems and established an alumni network to provide mutual support to their future activities. Other seminar sessions focused on topics particularly relevant to Indonesia's democratic transition, such as civil-military relations, strengthening the rule of law and the relationship between religion and politics. In addition to NDI's resident staff, international trainers and speakers included Members of Parliament (MP), Sam Rainsy and Saumura Tiaolong (Cambodia); MP Chitra Lekha Yadav (Nepal); MP Teresa Kok (Malaysia); Nurul Chandrasari, board member of the Women's Political caucus; Kus Haryanto, advocacy director of the All-Indonesia Labor Federation; Teten Masduki, chair of Indonesian Corruption Watch; Dr. Rizal Panggabean, director of the Center for Security and

Peace Studies at Gadjah Mada University; and Lt. Gen. Agus Widjojo, head of TNI's territorial unit.

One highlight of the program was the keynote speech on Leadership in Politics, by Sam Rainsy, well known for his fight against corruption and authoritarianism in Cambodia. Participants paid rapt attention during the hour-long speech, a personal account by Rainsy of his rise to leadership in his country, and eagerly engaged the party leader in dialogue about his experiences and the challenges facing Indonesian's involved in the democratization movement

In addition to taking part in the academy's training sessions and panel discussions, each participant developed a project activity designed to strengthen their party. Participants developed project outlines in advance of the workshop, and then refined their activity plans during consultations with NDI staff experts.

2. Namibia Study Mission

From November 17 to 25, NDI hosted a delegation from the Namibian upper legislative house, the National Council. (This activity was supported by funds from a separate USAID project, 98171.) The team included chairs of the council's four standing committees, one legislative staff member and two NDI colleagues from the Namibia office. The team sought to learn more about the development of standing committees in the DPR, as the National Council was in the process of determining what role its own committees would play.

While in Jakarta, the delegation met with leaders from several DPR standing commissions and other leadership bodies, political party fraction leaders and civil society representatives. Throughout the workshop, their Indonesian counterparts saw the Namibian's visit as a useful opportunity to learn about the experiences of Namibia's legislature since independence, as well as a chance to share the DPR's experiences in the Reformasi era. Through this program, the DPR gained the opportunity to learn about the experiences of Namibia's legislature in dealing with similar national vs. regional issues.

3. Code of Ethics and Rules of Procedure

NDI reviewed the draft Code of Ethics, which the Legislation DPR's Legislation Council finalized in early December, and the proposed revisions to the legislature's Rules of Procedure. At the request of the Legislation Council, the Institute has conducted seminars and provided resource materials on the Ethics Code and Rules of Procedure. Thus, NDI is in the process of reviewing the drafts to assess the latest changes and to identify to what extent the DPR incorporated NDI's comments into the new document.

4. The Women's Caucus

NDI has been involved with the Women's Political Caucus since its inception earlier this year. The Caucus is an organization of women leaders and party officials with a Board of Directors consisting of representatives from all major political parties, members of the DPR and prominent men who recognize the importance of women's political participation.

This quarter, NDI aided the Caucus in planning an empowerment conference on November 11. Over 160 participants attended the seminar including a majority of the female members of the DPR, 20 participants from 15 different news medias, and women from political parties and NGOs. The main themes of the conference were: opportunities and barriers to women's active role in politics; proportional vs. district election system; the political empowerment of women; their legal and human rights; and the equality of men and women in politics.

Seminar presenters included: Dr. Chusnul Mar'iyah, Director of Post Graduate Studies of the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences at the University of Indonesia; Dr. Marwah Daud Ibrahim, Member of the People's Representative Assembly (DPR); Dr. Amir Santoso, Former Member of the DPR and Professor of Political Science at the University of Indonesia; Dr. Ir. Irma Alamsyah, Expert Staff at the Ministry of Women's Empowerment; and Dr. Arbi Sanit, Professor of Political Science at the University of Indonesia

More recently, NDI has been helping the Caucus to develop an agenda for the group's upcoming project launching, slated for February. Vice President Megawati, First Lady Shinta Nuriyah Abdurrahman Wahid and Minister Khofifah Indar Parawansa will officially launch the Caucus. The Caucus expects approximately 250 attendees at the event, including the leadership of the 17 political parties represented in the Caucus, relevant NGOs, and mass media.

5. Strategic Planning Workshops with PPP and PKB in West Java

From April to June 1999, NDI conducted a comprehensive assessment of regional political party development in three provinces: East Kalimantan, North Sulawesi and West Java. The goal of the assessment was to provide an in-depth picture of the state of political party organizing in these provinces. However, during this period, NDI was unable to meet with representatives of the United Development Party (PPP) and the National Awakening Party (PKB). Thus, on December 6, NDI traveled to Bandung to meet with the regional leaderships of PPP and PKB. The meetings were designed to assess the parties' needs and how NDI could help through training seminars. Both parties emphasized their lack of political party managerial skills and emphasized their need for management training for their leaders and members.

6. Constituency Relations Workshops

On November 3, NDI held the first phase of the Constituency Relations Workshop for the United Development Party (PPP). Eighteen participants attended, including the party leadership. This is particularly notable, since the PPP was one of the three original parties from the New Order period and does have experience with constituency relations. The program focused

primarily on developing a strategic plan for constituent outreach. NDI, however, also held discussions on the role of constituencies in a democracy and basic research on member districts, including: demographic information; voting patterns; identification of employers; schools; and media providers in the district. In October, NDI held a similar workshop for Golkar MPs and party representatives.

Prior to the workshop, NDI distributed worksheet exercises for the members. The first worksheet introduced was a district profile. The profiles outlined population figures, the number of registered voters (including the number of those who voted in the 1999 election), which party won the majority in that particular district, district per capita income, and the percentage of Moslems and Christians residing in the district. The worksheet also outlined the demographic composition of the district. What percentage of the population do women constitute? Seniors? The unemployed? How many schools, NGOs, labor unions, and media centers are in the district? To clarify matters, NDI provided a sample using Gorontalo in North Sulawesi as an example. This sample helped the participants understand what information was required for their worksheets.

B. CIVIL SOCIETY

1. Training Seminars in Manado

From November 17 to November 19, NDI conducted an advocacy training session for its partner, Yayasan Kelola, in Manado, North Sulawesi. The trainings focused on the following topics: 1) definitions of advocacy; 2) the role of civil society and public advocacy in the state framework; 3) developing organizational competencies; 4) analyzing the level of impact; 5) strategic planning for advocacy; 6) strategies for influencing policy; 6) strategies for networking, building coalitions and building solid constituencies; 7) Political communication; and 8) monitoring and evaluating the advocacy program. Over the course of the training seminar, NDI aided Kelola in developing a workplan for advocacy and used role-playing techniques to reinforce the topics discussed.

2. Human Rights Day

To encourage solidarity within the Indonesian human rights community, NDI joined with several Indonesian civil society organizations to initiate a gathering commemorating Human Rights Day on December 10, 2000. Indonesian CSOs participating included the Community Advocacy and Study Institute (ELSAM), the Institute for the Studies of Free Flow of Information (ISAI), the Network of People's Culture (JAKER), Kalyanamitra, the Commission for Disappearances and Victims of Violence (KONTRAS), the Legal Aid Service of Indonesian Women Association for Justice (LBH APIK), the Institute for Press and Development Studies (LSPP), the Indonesian Legal Aid Association (PBHI), the Indonesian People Participation, Initiatives, and Partnership Strengthening (YAPPIKA) and the Independent Journalist Foundation (YJI).

The gathering was held at Hotel Aryaduta, Jakarta on December 10, 2000. Opening speeches by NDI's Keith Jennings and YAPPIKA Executive Director Abdi Suryaningati highlighted the history of Human Rights Day and human rights during the Suharto period, respectively. Other events included a film *Kambing Kampung Kena Pukul*, translated as the Battered Village Goat, which detailed military cruelties in Aceh during the last decade of the Suharto regime; a concert by street children, who created stirring music from the most basic of instruments; a musical poetry performance; and a rousing chorus, "Happy Birthday Human Rights".

3. Development of University of Indonesia (UI) Certificate in NGO Management

In late November, NDI met with the International Relations Student Association at the UI as a first step toward the University hosting a certificate program in NGO Management. NDI believes the program would increase effective citizen participation in the public policy process, increase institutional and financial viability of civil society organizations and create a strengthened democratic political culture. The program would consist of a two-week course, and would be jointly managed by the University of Indonesia and NDI. With UI's active participation and support, the program would have a much greater chance of becoming sustainable. Both institutions would ensure that the highest professional standards are maintained and the program meets all the requirements established by the University of Indonesia for certificate programs.

4. Advocacy Campaign on Draft Foundations Law

To assist civil society groups with shaping the democratic framework in which they will operate, NDI assisted a national-level advocacy campaign around the proposed Foundations Law. In this work, NDI consulted with major NGOs in Jakarta, as well as from provinces. As a result of four meetings conducted at the offices of YAPPIKA, LBH Jakarta, WALHI, Bina Desa and a national-forum sponsored by NDI, several important comments and observations came to light and are now being reviewed. Among these are ones that would have a strong effect on the existence and activities of NGOs in the future, such as:

- The draft Law on Foundations tends to restrict people's rights to form an organization and implement social activities because the legal aspect of the rights is in the hands of the government (Article 10-12).
- The draft still contains the spirit that the Government is the source of rights, not facilitator and protector of the rights of the people. This can impede the people's initiatives because if the government can grant rights, it can also take them away.
- The draft tends to give authority to the government to regulate and supervise foundations.
- The draft accommodates business interests of foundations that use foundations as its legal entity to do business.
- The draft is assuming that foundations have uniform characteristics.
- The draft is silent on tax deduction regulations for people that donated to foundations.

5. Preparation for National and Regional Advocacy Training

During the reporting period, NDI held several meetings with Bina Swadaya, a national-level NGO, to discuss preparations for future national-level advocacy training. In conjunction with Bina Swadaya, NDI plans to organize a week-long training session on advocacy for senior-level NGO leaders, drawn from Bina Swadaya and several other national organizations. This event is planned for February.

NDI and Bina Swadaya have also begun planning regional-level advocacy training that will take place in conjunction with the Institute's Asian Center for Advocacy and Political Participation (A-CAPP).

IV. RESULTS/ACCOMPLISHMENTS

A. POLITICAL PARTIES

1. Political Leadership Academy

- 24 young political party members received intensive training in strategic planning, message development, constituency relations, communication via electronic media and conflict resolution;
- The Academy immediately generated a spirit of multi-partisan cooperation and solidarity among participants;
- NDI's program enabled the young political party leaders to better analyze the problems facing a democratizing Indonesia;
- Participants formed an Academy alumni network to provide mutual support to their future activities, as well as to participants in next year's Academy; and
- The attendees are now better prepared both to run for office and to communicate with their constituents once they become members of the DPR/MPR.

2. Namibia Study Mission

- The DPR gained the opportunity to learn about the experiences of Namibia's legislature since independence; and
- NDI-Indonesia developed a strong and potentially useful relationship with NDI-Namibia

3. Code of Ethics and Rules of Procedure

- The DPR approved the Code of Ethics. At the request of DPR Speaker Akbar Tandjung, NDI had commented on both draft codes. The approved code of ethics reflects many of NDI's recommendations.

4. The Women's Caucus

- NDI established a strong relationship with the women's caucus; and
- The women's caucus has developed an agenda and organizational strategy for the project launching on January 27.

5. Strategic Planning Workshops with PPP and PKB in West Java

- PPP and PKB had the opportunity to express their need for managerial training for their members and leaders; and
- NDI gained a greater understanding of the parties' needs and how NDI could best help through training seminars and workshops.

6. Constituency Relations Workshop

- NDI's approach in combining practical tools, such as worksheet exercises with discussions led participants to recognize the necessity of understanding the needs of their constituencies in order to effectively exercise their representation function;
- Eighteen participants, including the party leadership, gained a greater understanding of the demographic, political, cultural, and educational makeup of their constituencies; and
- At the workshop, PPP developed a strategic plan for constituent outreach.

B. CIVIL SOCIETY

1. Training Seminars in Manado

- Kelola developed a workplan for future advocacy; and
- Kelola discovered how role-playing techniques could be used in their own workshops to reinforce topics discussed.

2. Human Rights Day

- NDI and its program partners recognized the important contributions of various Indonesian NGO groups in promoting and protecting human rights in Indonesia;

- NDI established and strengthened relationships with members of the Indonesian human rights NGO community; and
- NDI opened the door to future advocacy training programs for Indonesian human rights organizations.

3. Development of University of Indonesia (UI) Certificate in NGO Management

- NDI took the first steps to establishing a certificate program in NGO management through meeting with the International Relations Student Association at UI.

4. Advocacy Campaign on Draft Foundations Law

- Based on discussion at the NDI-sponsored forum, the NGO Coalition decided to reject the current draft of the Foundations Law. They conveyed this decision at the General Hearing to the DPR on November 22. The Coalition also began work on its own version of the draft, which they plan to present to the DPR during the 2001 session.

V. EVALUATION/CONCLUSIONS

***Objective 1:** To assist political and civil society leaders to encourage informed public debate and advocacy on issues critical to the success of the democratic transition.*

- NDI showed Kelola, a mass based organization in Manado, Northern Sulawesi how to use role-playing techniques as part of a communication strategy with their members; and
- NDI, in conjunction with a coalition of Indonesian human rights organizations, conducted an event commemorating Human Rights Day. As a result of this activity, NDI has strengthened its relationships with other civil society advocacy groups.

***Objective 2:** To support the constructive involvement of civil society in the ongoing transition process and strengthen the ability of civil society groups to work effectively within the new political environment.*

- NDI has initiated the process of establishing a certificate program in NGO management at the University of Indonesia. This program will teach important skills such as lobbying, public advocacy and grassroots organizing that NGO's must cultivate in order to make their voices heard

- Since the Human Rights Day event, NDI has been asked by several of those groups to conduct advocacy training workshops for its members;
- NDI assisted a national-level advocacy campaign on the proposed Foundations Law. From discussions held at an NDI sponsored Forum, the NGO Coalition decided to reject the current draft of the Foundation Law. The Coalition has since begun work on its own version of the draft. NDI will continue to provide assistance in promoting this campaign and the Coalitions new draft;
- NDI established a relationship with Bina Swadaya, a national level NGO, and is planning a week-long advocacy training workshop for senior-level NGO leaders from Bina Swadaya and other national level organizations; and
- The Human Rights Day event, the national advocacy campaign, and the relationship with Bina Swadaya have helped cement NDI's role in the Indonesian NGO community as a leading advocacy training organization

Objective 3: To strengthen the ability of political parties to actively and effectively participate in a democratic, multiparty political environment.

- NDI now understands the needs of major political parties in West Java and how to tailor its programs to meet those needs;
- Most parties in Indonesia lack a distinct organizational structure. There are the political figures at the top and the masses at the bottom, but there are few skilled mid-level party officials to monitor constituency relations, organize campaigns, and assess the needs of the people. Thus, in training young political party leaders at the Political Leadership Academy, NDI has begun to address this problem of the lack of skilled mid-level officials;
- Political leaders from PDKB, PPP, Golkar and Reformasi have developed strategic plans for improving constituency relations and understand the importance of improving those relationships; and
- Political leaders from PDKB, PPP, Golkar and Reformasi have accurate information on the demographic, political, religious, cultural, and educational makeup of their districts.

Objective 4: To increase the ability of political parties and individual DPR members to play a meaningful role in public debate, policy development, allocation of public resources and government oversight and to conduct legislative affairs in an ethical, responsive and transparent manner.

- At the request of DPR Speaker Akbar Tandjung, NDI reviewed and offered comments to 2 drafts of the DPR's Code of Ethics. In December, the Code of Ethics was passed by the DPR with many of NDI's recommendations included.
- NDI cemented a relationship with the Women's Caucus and assisted in the development of its project launching;

- The Women's Caucus has begun to identify the issues that currently limit women's involvement in politics such as: Indonesia's proportional electoral system, the lack of political empowerment of women, and inferior educational opportunities;
- From the first phase constituent relations workshops with Golkar and PPP, it was clear that they were all very enthusiastic in improving skills in this area. NDI's approach in providing practical tools, such as worksheet exercises for the members, was appreciated and led participants to realize that they need to understand their constituencies better before they can effectively exercise their representation function.

VI. FUTURE ACTIVITIES (January-March 2001)

1. POLITICAL PARTIES

- In February, NDI will conduct a strategic planning workshop with the Women's Political Caucus to set objectives and priorities, conduct activities and manage staff.
- Also in February, NDI will assist the Caucus in its formal launching.
- NDI will begin the second phase of the Constituency Relations training for parties in the legislature, which will focus on evaluation of existing strategic plans and past constituent relations activities, and the development of specific activities to support each parties' constituent relations strategies.
- NDI will publish a report on the first annual Political Leadership Academy and continue to consult with November activity participants as they implement their party-building projects.
- NDI will conduct regional party training in East Kalimantan, West Java and North Sumatra focusing on communication, membership recruitment and other areas identified as priorities in earlier strategic planning sessions.
- NDI will work with the DPR to publicize its legislative agenda, increasing the overall transparency in the legislative process.

2. CIVIL SOCIETY

- As a result of the human rights day program, NDI will work with a core group of CSOs to conduct human rights advocacy training in early 2001;
- In January, NDI will provide conduct consultations with Kelola and implement a memorandum of understanding which outlines NDI's technical assistance for the first two months of 2001;

- In January, NDI and UI will establish the NGO Management Certificate training program at the University of Indonesia;
- In February, NDI will organize a senior-level advocacy training program for national NGO leaders;
- Regional advocacy training will take place in East Kalimantan in February and in West Nusa Tenggara in March;
- NDI will continue to assist the NGO coalition advocating revisions to the draft Foundations Law; and
- In February, NDI will initiate a monthly civil society forum, to be held in Jakarta.